

His coaches have also gone on to bigger and better positions. Eleven of his assistant coaches became head coaches on the college level. Included on the list are Buddy Amendola, who led Central Connecticut State University, Jim Root—William & Mary—Bill Mallory—Indiana—Bill Narduzzi—Youngstown State.

Cozza's football coaching career commenced at the high school level at Gilmour Academy and Collinwood High, both in Ohio, before he became the head freshman coach at Miami in 1956. Five seasons later, he joined the varsity as an assistant. He left Miami in 1963 to join John Pont's staff at Yale and after Pont resigned to become head coach at Indiana, Cozza became the Bulldogs' new head coach.

The lives he touched—let's just say they all remember. They all are grateful. At a farewell dinner last fall, all but one of his captains came back to pay tribute. The only one who didn't appear was on business and couldn't get away. Each shared a story about him.

Sending written tributes, congratulating the coach on an incredible career, were President Clinton and former Presidents Bush and Ford. Gov. John Rowland proclaimed the day he coached his final game Carm Cozza Day and New Haven Mayor John DeStefano did the same for the city.

Carmen Louis Cozza was born on June 10, 1930, in Parma, OH. He earned 11 varsity letters in football, basketball, track, and baseball, while serving as class president his last 3 years, at Parma High and was inducted into the school's Hall of Fame in 1982. Cozza and his wife, the former Jean Annable, reside in Orange, not far from his beloved Yale.

We'll all miss this living legend's presence on the football field. But his presence in our hearts and the memories of his great career will live on.●

#### HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EAST TIMOR

● Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, on Sunday, March 2, 1997, the Washington Post ran two op-eds profiling how the award of the Nobel Peace Prizes to Asian democratic activists in recent years have helped draw attention to the terrible human rights situation in Burma and in East Timor. The two companion articles highlighted the work of 1991 Nobel winner Aung San Suu Kyi and the 1996 cowinners Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and Jose Ramos Horta.

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Ramos Horta late last month, and he told me how—since the Nobel Committee's announcement in October—the attention of international policymakers and the press on the plight of East Timor has increased dramatically.

Mr. President, the joint award to Bishop Belo and Mr. Ramos Horta, followed by the attention in the United States focused on political campaign

contributions from Indonesians, has made United States policy toward Indonesia and human rights issues related to East Timor the subject of heightened interest. The Nobel Committee said it hoped the 1996 award would draw international attention to the situation in East Timor, and help build momentum for resolution of the conflict there.

I commend the Nobel Committee's decision, because I believe the more light that the international community sheds on the horrible abuses taking place in East Timor, the sooner we will come to a resolution of this conflict.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the March 2, 1997, Washington Post article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 2, 1997]

IN EAST TIMOR, TEETERING ON THE EDGE OF MORE BLOODSHED

(By Matthew Jardine)

"Hello, Mister. Where are you from?"

I had just arrived at the tiny airport in Dili, capital of Indonesian-occupied East Timor. The man, clad in civilian clothes, didn't identify himself except to say he was from Java, Indonesia's principal island. His questions—and the respect he seemed to command from uniformed officials at the airport—led me to believe he was an intelligence agent. As the only obviously non-Indonesian or East Timorese on this daily flight from Bali a few months ago, I attracted his attention.

"Are you a journalist?" the man asked, examining my passport. "Where are you planning to stay?"

I mentioned a local hotel and told him I was a tourist, a common lie that journalists tell to avoid immediate expulsion from places such as East Timor. I wasn't surprised by the scrutiny: During my first trip to East Timor in 1992, I was frequently followed and questioned as I traveled around the tropical, mountainous territory, which makes up half of an uncommonly beautiful island at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago, 400 miles north of Australia.

But the beauty belies a harsh reality. In the more than 21 years since Indonesia invaded East Timor and annexed it, more than 200,000 people—about one-third of the country's pre-invasion population—have died as a result of the invasion, Indonesia's subsequent campaign of repression, the ensuing famine and East Timorese resistance to the ongoing occupation, according to Amnesty International.

East Timor was a backwater of the Portuguese colonial empire until April 1974, when the military dictatorship in Lisbon was overthrown. Two pro-independence political parties sprung up in East Timor; this development scared the Indonesian military, which feared that an independent East Timor could incite secessionist movements elsewhere in the ethnically diverse archipelago or serve as a platform for leftist subversion.

Indonesian intelligence agents began covertly interfering in East Timor's decolonization, helping to provoke a brief civil war between the two pro-independence parties. Amid the chaos, Portugal abandoned its rule of the island. Soon after, Indonesian troops attacked from West Timor (Indonesia has governed the island's western half since its own independence in 1949), culminating in a full-scale invasion on Dec. 7, 1975. They

met with fierce resistance from Falintil, the East Timorese guerrilla army. But the war turned in Indonesia's favor with the procurement of counterinsurgency aircraft from the Carter administration.

The Indonesian military was able to bomb and napalm the population into submission, almost destroying the resistance as well. An Australian parliamentary report later called it "indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented in post-World War II history."

Until 1989, East Timor was virtually closed to the outside world. Then the Indonesian government "opened" the territory to tourism and foreign investment, but continued to restrict visits by international human rights monitors and journalists.

As my taxi left the airport, I saw immediate evidence of change since my 1992 visit: On a wall near the airport entrance, someone had boldly spray-painted "Viva Bishop Belo," a tribute to Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the head of East Timor's Catholic Church. Belo and José Ramos Horta were awarded the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize for their opposition to Indonesian oppression.

During my 1992 visit, most East Timorese seemed too afraid to make direct eye contact with me. This time, many people greeted me as I walked the streets in Dili, a picturesque city of 150,000. Some, particularly younger people, flashed a "V" sign for victory, a display of their nationalist sympathies.

East Timorese with the means to own a parabolic antenna can now watch Portuguese state television (RTP)—which beams its signal into the territory over Indonesia's objections—and catch glimpses of pro-independence leaders in exile or those hiding in the mountains. During my visit, RTP broadcast a documentary on Falintil, which now numbers around 600 guerrillas. The documentary, clandestinely made by a British filmmaker, contained footage of David Alex, a 21-year veteran in the struggle against the Indonesian military and third in the Falintil command. He is well known to the East Timorese, but few had ever seen him or heard his voice until the broadcast.

Despite these openings, East Timor remains a place where few dare to speak their minds in public and even fewer dare to invite foreigners into their homes. "We are very happy that the world has recognized our suffering with the Nobel Prize," a middle-aged woman told me in a brief conversation on a shady street, "but we still live in a prison." Our talk ended abruptly when a stranger appeared.

The streets of Dili are empty by 9 p.m. Accordingly to several people I interviewed, Indonesian soldiers randomly attack people, especially youths, who are outside at night. Matters are worse in rural areas, where the Catholic Church has less of a presence. "Outside the towns, people are at the total mercy of the Indonesian military," one priest said.

Increasing international scrutiny has forced Indonesia to be more discreet in dealing with suspected pro-independence activists. But arrests, torture and extrajudicial executions are still common, human rights researchers say.

Such repression, however, has not stilled opposition to Indonesia's authority. Open protests have been a sporadic occurrence since November 1994, when 28 East Timorese students and workers occupied the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta during President Clinton's visit to Indonesia. Demonstrations and riot erupted in Dili and in other towns.

Protesters sometimes target Indonesian settlers and businesses, a manifestation of the deep resentment caused by the large scale migration of Indonesians into the territory. There are upwards of 150,000 Indonesian migrants in East Timor (out of a population of 800,000 to 900,000), according to researchers. This influx, combined with administrative corruption and the destruction caused

by the war, has overwhelmed the indigenous population. Joblessness and underemployment, especially among the young East Timorese, are high.

Indonesia maintains order through a highly visible military force of 20,000 to 30,000 troops and an extensive administrative apparatus. But a sophisticated underground resistance in the towns and villages challenges its authority. The underground has strong links to Falintil guerrillas in the mountains and to the resistance's diplomatic front abroad, led by Ramos Horta.

I saw this firsthand when I spent 24 hours during my trip with David Alex and 10 of the 150 Falintil guerrillas under his command. Underground activists drove me to a rural safe house, where I was taken on a lengthy hike to the guerrillas' mountain camp. My transport in and out of the region relied on the cooperation of numerous people from many walks of life, exposing the hollowness of Indonesia's claims that the resistance is marginalized and isolated within East Timor.

Many East Timorese told me that only the United States, Indonesia's longtime military and economic patron, has the clout to pressure the Jakarta government into resolving the conflict. Successive U.S. administrations have provided Indonesia with billions in aid since the 1975 invasion, despite United Nations resolutions calling upon Indonesia to withdraw and allow the East Timorese to determine their own future.

Bill Clinton, who called U.S. policy toward East Timor "unconscionable" before he became president, seems just as beholden as his predecessors to the lure of Indonesia, which Richard Nixon once called "by far the greatest prize" in Southeast Asia. The Clinton administration has provided Indonesia with almost \$400 million in economic aid, has sold or licensed the sale of \$270 million in weaponry.

Meanwhile, East Timor teeters on the edge of increased violence. On Dec. 24, 100,000 people gathered in Dili to welcome Bishop Belo back from receiving the Nobel Prize in Oslo. Youths in the crowd, apparently fueled by rumors of an Indonesian military plot to assassinate Belo, attacked two men who they suspected of being in the Indonesian military and killed another carrying a pistol and a walkie-talkie. (Belo had announced a month before that the military had twice made attempts on his life.)

In the past three weeks, rioting has broken out in two different regions of the territory. Indonesian troops have responded with a major crackdown and numerous arrests. Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.), after a recent three-day visit to East Timor, described the atmosphere as one of "terror" and "total and complete fear."

Some East Timorese I met on my recent visit expressed fears that the violence and repression will intensify. "The people here are desperate," one priest said. "If the situation does not change soon, there will be much more bloodshed."●

#### MR. HERMAN C. GILBERT: A MAN WHO MADE A DIFFERENCE

● Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, later today, a number of the friends of Herman C. Gilbert will come together to remember a man whose life embodied the core values we hold so dear. While many people will attend tonight's service at Cosmopolitan Community Church in Chicago, however, they will be only a very small fraction of those whose lives he touched, and those whose lives he made better.

Herman Gilbert was a leader; he was a doer; he made things happen. All of his life, he worked to make his community a better place in which to live. All of his life he worked to open the doors of opportunity. All of his life he strove to turn what Dr. Martin Luther King called the American "Declaration of Intent" into the reality of life for every American.

Herman Gilbert led in many fields. He was a publisher; he cofounded Path Press to publish books by and about African-Americans. He was a political leader; he was one of the cofounders of the Chicago League of Negro Voters in 1959, and he served as chief of staff to Congressman Gus Savage for 2 years. He was a civil rights leader, working closely with Dr. King and Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago to fulfill the promise of America for minority Americans. He was a labor leader, active in the United Packinghouse Workers, a progressive union.

Herman Gilbert was a strong man, with strong views. He brought determination, intelligence, good judgment, and perhaps most importantly, a real commitment to principle and to fundamental values, in everything he did. He knew that nothing worth having comes easily, that real achievement is built on hard work—and he worked hard all of his life for his family, for his community, for African-Americans as a people, and for his country.

I know he will be greatly missed by his wife, Ivy, by his sister, Addie Lawrence, by his son, Vincent, by his daughter, Dorothea, by his stepdaughter, Lynnette Tate, and by his grandchildren. He will also be missed by the people of Mariana, AR, where he was born, by the people of Cairo, IL, where his family moved in 1937, by the people of the city of Chicago, where he spent most of his life, and by people all across this country who have so benefited from his lifetime of effort on their behalf, and on behalf of us all.

I will greatly miss him, Mr. President. His was a life that made a difference for many, many people; his was a life that made an important difference for me. Like the others whose lives he touched, I have greatly benefited from the legacy embodied in the life and work of Herman C. Gilbert.●

#### COMMENDATION UPON THE RETIREMENT OF KAY DOWHOWER

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, it is with great honor that I rise to commend Kay S. Dowhower. After more than 9 years of committed service, Kay is leaving her role as director of the Evangelical Lutheran Church's governmental affairs office in the Nation's capital to pursue other advocacy efforts within the church. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America is a church with a membership of over 5.2 million people and 11,000 congregations.

During those 9 years, she has worked tirelessly for social justice in the for-

mulation of public policy. She has been a committed spokesperson for the poor and the powerless in this Nation and abroad. Her competent work has provided her church, her colleagues, and those in Government with encouragement and a model of excellence.

Kay Dowhower, you will be missed. We have been the better because of your unwavering efforts to challenge us to do what is just for the least of these in our Nation and in the world.●

#### RURAL HEALTH IMPROVEMENT ACT

● Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity and make a few comments about a bill that my colleague, Senator MAX BAUCUS introduced yesterday. The bill, known as the Rural Health Improvement Act, is designed to help struggling, small, rural hospitals across America.

I am pleased to join Senator BAUCUS as an original cosponsor of this important bill. It will go a long way in helping people served by rural facilities.

As cochairman of the Senate Rural Health Caucus, I have worked long and hard to ensure rural families have access to quality care. This is an issue that concerns not just a select few, but all Senators because every State has at least some low-population areas.

Unfortunately, too many of our small hospitals are confronted with the decision of having to close because they can no longer contend with declining inpatient stays, costly regulations, and low Medicare reimbursement rates. However, closing hospitals is not an acceptable option in Wyoming. In my State, if a town loses its most important point of service—the emergency room—it is typical for patients to drive 100 miles or more to the closest tertiary care center.

With the Medicare trust fund going broke, it also is understood that underutilized facilities cannot continue to be subsidized. However, an alternative must still be available. That is why it is necessary to give small rural hospitals the ability to downsize without having to maintain a full-service operation.

Mr. President, the Rural Health Improvement Act allows facilities to reconfigure their service and reduce excess bed capacity while retaining access to emergency care. In short, the bill presents communities with a viable option. It accommodates different levels of medical care throughout a State while providing stabilization services needed in remote areas.

The bill is one in a series of measures the Rural Health Caucus is working on designed to improve quality medical care in rural America. It is similar to legislation I introduced as a Member of the House of Representatives, and I look forward to working with Senator BAUCUS to pass this important, bipartisan piece of legislation.●